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THE CATHOLICS OF THE BYZANTINE RITE

IN this number of the *E.C.Q.* and in two other numbers next year, we intend to study the Catholics of the Byzantine rite. A similar study will be made of the Catholics of other Eastern rites at a future date.

The Catholics of the Byzantine rite do not form an homogeneous whole but, for the most part, are a minority of Catholics living with an Orthodox majority, who, though in communion with the Holy See, have the same rite as their Orthodox brethren. They vary from one another both as the Orthodox churches themselves vary, and also, in some cases, because of their own special historical background.

In this study we have in mind the problem of reunion and hence we are not concerned with the historical interest of a particular group as such; and for the same reason we will only deal with certain groups since these seem to us to have some special bearing on the question of reunion at the present time.

The first question may very well be : why are there Catholics of the Byzantine rite at all? The answer is because the Catholic Church never was and is not now, even after the schism between east and west, only a western church with a Latin rite. One very important value of the Catholics of all Eastern rites is to emphasize this fact.

It cannot be too strongly stated that the popes have always safeguarded the Eastern rites. To show this Dr. Adrian Fortescue collected a catena of papal pronouncements and documents beginning at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215)

right up to the time of Pius X.¹ We will quote some of these :

Pope Benedict XIV (1740-1758) in his bull, *Etsi pastoralis*, of May 26th, 1742, addresses the Italo-Greeks and says that "they and their children are to keep studiously and carefully the habits, institutions, rites, and customs which they have received from their Greek fathers, only to show to the Roman Church due obedience and reverence. . . . Our predecessors, the Roman Pontiffs, considered it more proper to approve and permit these rites, which in no way are opposed to the Catholic faith, nor cause danger to souls, nor diminish the honour of the Church, rather than bring them to the standard of the Roman ceremonies. Nor do we allow any Latin ordinary to molest or to disturb these or any of them. And we inhibit all and any prelates or persons from blaspheming, reproving, or blaming the rites of the Greeks, which were approved in the Council of Florence or elsewhere." (*Bullarium Benedicti XIV*, ed. Venet., 1778, t.i, pp. 75-83, No. lvii.)

On December 24th, 1743, he published the decree *Demandatam caelitus* addressed to the Melkite Patriarch of Antioch, Cyril VI. In it he says :

"Moreover we expressly forbid all and each of the Catholic Melkites who use the Greek rite, to pass over to the Latin rite. We command severely that all missionaries . . . shall not dare to persuade anyone of these to pass from the Greek to the Latin rite, or shall even allow them to do so, if they wish it, without having first consulted the Apostolic See." And he ends : "We do not doubt that you will recognize that we have no other intention but that the venerable rites of the Greek Church and its customs shall persist in all their force ; and that the due obedience of your people and your authority and jurisdiction over them shall be kept whole and entire. . . . We wish all the rights, privileges, and free jurisdiction of your Fraternities (i.e., the patriarch and bishops) to remain intact, that you may rule the sheep committed to your care, and may direct them by the paths of the laws of God, with the help of his grace, to the goal of eternal salvation." (Op. cit., t.i, p. 129, No. xv, xxvi.)

In his encyclical *Allatae sunt* of July 26th, 1755, the pope addresses missionaries, chiefly in Syria and Asia Minor (i.e., Middle East), telling them, *inter alia*, that in order to under-

¹ *Vid.*, *The Uniate Eastern Churches*, by Adrian Fortescue, pp. 31-43. The book was published in 1923.

stand the dissidents they should study the Greek Fathers and also the works of Leo Allatius and other theologians and concludes : " We have explained these things in this our encyclical letter, not only to make the principles clear by which we have answered the questions of the missionaries, but also that all may see the good will with which the Apostolic See embraces Eastern Catholics, since it orders that by all means their ancient rites are to be preserved, as opposed neither to the Catholic faith nor to morals. Nor do we demand that schismatics who return to Catholic unity should forsake their rites We desire vehemently that their various nations should be preserved, not destroyed ; that, to say all in one word, they should be Catholics, not that they should become Latins." (Op. cit., t.iv, pp. 123-136, No. xlvi.)

We have specially quoted Benedict XIV, first because these documents have a bearing on two of the groups of Catholics of the Byzantine rite which we are considering in this issue, but also because it is from this great pontiff that can be dated the very consistent and persistent policy of the popes to make it clear to the Church that to be a Catholic does not necessarily mean to be a member of the Roman rite ; that the Eastern rites are a very real and important part of our Catholic heritage ; that Eastern Catholics use them not by privilege but by right, and that we Westerners would be the losers if these venerable traditions were allowed to die out. This has been a gradual process, beginning with the simple recognition of the lawfulness of Eastern Catholics to use their ancient liturgies for worship, and of all Catholics to use the Eastern Fathers of the Church as *sources* in the teaching and expounding Catholic dogma and practice, by the popes from the seventeenth century onwards¹ to the policy of recent popes to make people realize that the Oriental rites stand for something much more than ritual ceremonies, and the Greek Fathers for more than a basis for academic argument. Ever since the days of Leo XIII the popes have aimed, if only by degrees, at restoring the Catholic tradition of the Christian East to its ancient place by the side of Catholic Rome, and by doing so to prepare for the day of reunion with the dissident Eastern churches.

It was Leo XIII who made a special point of seeing that the Eastern Catholic students had their own colleges where they could follow their own rites. In 1886 he founded

¹ *Vid.*, *Dublin Review*, Jan. 1929, article "Rome's Efforts towards Reunion," and *L'Uniatisme*, 1927, by Cirillo Korolevskij.

the Armenian college at Rome; in 1897, the college for Catholic Copts at Cairo.¹ In 1896 he sent the Assumptionists to Chalcedon with the mission to study the Greeks; and he founded through them colleges at Philippopolis and Adrianople for the Bulgars. He opened the college of St. Anne at Jerusalem for the Melkites. He gave the Ruthenians their college at Rome in 1896, and placed the Greek college in the Holy City under the monks of St. Benedict. He also insisted that the Byzantine rite should be more correctly followed at the Greek monastery of Grottaferrata and founded there a college for the Italo-Greeks, for he said: "There is more importance in the conservation of the Eastern rites than might appear at first sight."

It was during his pontificate that a number of journals and reviews were founded by Catholics for the study of Eastern Christendom (e.g., *Revue de l'Orient*, *Revue des Eglises d'Orient*, *Echos d'Orient*, *Bessarione*, *Oriens christianus*, etc.). Leo published two outstanding encyclicals concerning the Eastern churches: the *Præclara gratulationis* (June 29th, 1894), in which he addressed both Catholics and dissident Easterns; and his constitution *Orientalium dignitas* (Nov. 30th, 1894), in which he enforces more strongly the principles laid down by Benedict XIV.

If we now turn to the contemporary work of popes Benedict XV and Pius XI, we shall see the mind of Rome made more explicit on this question.

In 1917 Benedict XV founded the Oriental Institute in Rome and in his *motu proprio*, having spoken about Latin priests who should study there, he goes on to say: "but this house of studies shall be open also to Orientals, both those in union and those called Orthodox. Of these, the former may carry out the ordinary course of studies, while the latter, having laid aside all prejudiced opinion, may closely examine the truth. For it is our desire that the explanation may there be given together, at once of Catholic and Orthodox teaching, so that it may be evident to any man's judgement from what sources they both have emanated, whether from the teaching of the Apostles, from the enduring *magisterium* of the Church handed down to us, or from elsewhere." (*A.A.S.*, Vol. ix, p. 532).

¹ These two colleges, though Eastern, are not of the Byzantine rite, but we mention them here to show the fulness of the pope's work.

In 1928 Pius XI reorganized the Oriental Institute as part of the Gregorian University, that it might be a more efficient instrument in the work of bringing about that intellectual and moral rapprochement of East and West which must precede any final reunion.¹ The end of the institute covers such works as the following: the preparation of seminary and university professors for faculties of oriental studies; the intellectual formation of Latins, and those of Western origin who are to work among Orientals; the higher education of oriental Catholics both priests or religious and laymen; helping the studies of dissident Orientals who wish to avail themselves of the facilities of the institute, and the publication of scientific studies on the Christian East: thus in the centre of Christendom is provision made to study the problems connected with the reunion of the Eastern churches with the utmost frankness and sympathy. Pius XI, in his letter *Rerum orientalium* (September 8th, 1928), stresses the importance of this institute. He had, in a previous address (December 18th, 1924), declared that three conditions were necessary for the work of reconciliation; first, that the majority of Catholics must rid themselves of their false outlook with regard to the doctrines and institutions of the Eastern churches; secondly, there must be a comparative study of Eastern and Latin patrology, to see how all the Fathers agree in one and the same faith; finally, the exchange of opinions between East and West must be in a spirit of brotherly charity. The institute is indeed intended to help to bring about these conditions.

The following conclusions may be made from the above. That the popes have been jealous to preserve the Oriental rites, first, perhaps, simply as Catholic forms of worship. But that later the Roman authorities (members of the sacred congregations and often students and experts) began more and more to realize that these rites were but the external expression of a whole cultural background steeped in the tradition of the Greek Fathers of the Church, and also that some of these patristic Fathers were Syrian and thus opened up a further tradition. It followed from this that the "latinizing" of these rites is in itself a real hurt to the complete expression of the content of Catholicism, and hence all the

¹ For this and subsequent matter on the Oriental Institute, see the article "Rome to-day and Reunion with the East" in the *E.C.Q.*, October, 1938.

papal legislation against latinization was seen to be more than justified. Much of this conclusion had been arrived at by parallel movements in the west; the liturgical movement and the revival of patristic studies associated with and fostered by the monks of St. Benedict (this explains why the popes have always looked for support from Benedictines in any work they wish to undertake for the Christian east). In addition to this, there is the recent historical study of Eastern Christendom so much encouraged by Leo XIII and now bearing special fruit.

But generations of latinization, or westernization, cannot be undone in a day, especially as most of it came about from local Latin ordinaries, and not a little from the Oriental clergy themselves, and is bound up with the particular historical and political background of each group of Eastern Catholics.

To make the position clear, latinization may be considered under three classes :

1. *Purely ritual* (or external), i.e., certain external things (e.g., ornaments, decorations, etc.) have been adopted from the west (generally from the worst western practices), but the mentality of the people remains oriental. (This is more noticeable among Catholics of non-Byzantine Eastern rites, e.g., Maronites and Malabarese.)
2. The *deliberate substitution* of translations from Latin liturgical books, especially from the *Rituale*, and in the administration of the sacraments. These are for the most part now being seen into by the authorities at Rome.
3. The most serious is the *latinization, westernization or of mentality*.

The general aim of Rome, especially in her more recent¹ oriental colleges, (e.g., the *Russicum*), is to bring about a change here, but perhaps this will be done most effectively by a combination of the new blood among young "Roman Oriental" clergy backed up by a real interest taken in the question locally by Latin Catholics under the influence of the liturgical and patristic revival. Then will the Catholics of the Byzantine or any other oriental rite be ready for the God-given day of the reunion of east and west.

THE EDITOR.

¹ Some of the old colleges have a long standing good tradition (e.g., the Greek College) and priests trained there have done and are doing excellent work in this matter in many parts of the world.

BYZANTINE CATHOLICS IN ITALY

THE small and obscure body of Catholic Christians called Italo-Greeks (now more accurately, as we shall see, Italo-Greek-Albanians, or even Italo-Albanians), have a special interest, for of all Catholics of Eastern rite they are the only ones who have certainly been continuously in communion with Rome since before the Eastern separation.

In very early times Sicily, and later southern Italy, were colonized by Greeks (*Magna Graecia*); there were Christian communities there from at least the second century, and the present inhabitants regard their churches as apostolic foundations (Acts xxviii, 11-14). Sicily, Calabria, Apulia and Terra d'Otranto were part of the Byzantine empire of Justinian; but the Latin and Byzantine Christians lived side by side there and they were all under the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Roman pontiff.¹ About the year 732 the emperor Leo III the Isaurian, upholder of Iconoclasm, insisted that this part of his dominions should be ecclesiastically subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople, and so they remained until the conquest of these parts by the Normans, begun in 1017: they then returned to the patriarchal jurisdiction of the Pope, and have so remained ever since.

For political reasons, both secular and ecclesiastical, the Normans discouraged manifestations of Christianity that were not Latin. Greek eparchies (dioceses) were suppressed, whole parishes "turned Latin," the numerous Greek monasteries gradually fell into decay. By the end of the fourteenth century the Byzantines were on the verge of extinction. But there was an influx of refugees after the fall of Constantinople to the Turks in 1453, and then for a hundred years there came colonists and mercenaries from Albania, following the alliance of George Alexander Kastriota ("Skanderbeg") with Ferdinand I of Naples in 1462.

Some of the immigrants were Latins, some Byzantines; these last saved their dying rite in Italy, and account for the Italo-Greeks of to-day being mainly of Albanian descent. Nevertheless the decay continued, and the last Byzantine bishopric disappeared at the end of the sixteenth century. Some of the monasteries hung on much longer, but in an

¹ Pope St. Agatho (d. 681) was a Sicilian Greek, and Pope St. Zachary (d. 752) a Calabrian Greek.

increasing state of decadence ; they became Greek in hardly more than name, and finally were suppressed by the civil power in the earlier part of the nineteenth century—with the exception of Grottaferra referred to below.¹ From before 1600 the Byzantines were subject to the local ordinaries, who encouraged and urged them (to put it mildly) to join the Latin rite ; in consequence, the Byzantine rite was given up altogether in Apulia and Terra d'Otranto, and greatly decreased elsewhere.

Better times began when, in 1716, an Oratorian priest, George Guzzetta, started a Greek-Albanian community at Piana in Sicily, and followed this in 1734 with a Byzantine seminary at Palermo, which still flourishes. A little later two Byzantine "ordaining bishops," without jurisdiction, were appointed, and in 1742 Pope Benedict XIV issued the important constitution "Etsi pastoralis," which was a sort of compendium of canon law for Greeks and Albanians, as well as a vindication of Eastern usages : the Latin rite, it declared, has no precedence over the Byzantine, "all are one in Christ." The effect of this was to restore self-respect to the Greco-Albanians and to put some brake on their cultural and ecclesiastical decay ; moreover, "Etsi pastoralis" prepared the ground for other and even more far-reaching papal pronouncements on the true place of the orientals in the Church.

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The Italo-Greek-Albanians to-day are mostly peasants, decent, hard-working folk, rather poverty-stricken in Italy, more prosperous in Sicily. A fair proportion of them (here and there whole villages) speak a somewhat debased Albanian.²

There are twenty Byzantine village parishes in Calabria, and a parish in the town of Lecce, comprising about 35,000 souls. In 1919 the Holy See constituted them into a separate eparchy, with its throne in the church of St. Nicholas of Myra at Lungro (the bishop also has the title of Archimandrite of Patire). The 16,000 Byzantines of Sicily are found in five places, divided into eight parishes. They were made into a separate eparchy in 1937, with its see at Piana dei Greci. This town, ten miles south of Palermo, has five churches and two chapels-of-ease for

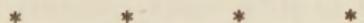
¹ Rodotá could still speak in 1758 of forty-three struggling oriental monasteries, "where once there were about a thousand."

² In Terra d'Otranto, especially around Bova (where was the last of the old Byzantine episcopal sees), a very corrupt Greek can still be heard.

its 7,000 Byzantine inhabitants. These two eparchies (which are both immediately subject to the Holy See) have a hundred churches and chapels, served by sixty priests, of whom over a half are in Sicily. The clergy make their studies in the junior seminary founded in 1918 at the abbey of Grottaferrata, at the Palermo seminary mentioned above, and at the Greek College in Rome. The pastoral clergy retain their right to marriage before ordination ; and of recent years the traditional Greek clerical dress has come back into use. In 1920 the monks of Grottaferrata took over the old monastery of Mezzoiuso in Sicily and made an establishment there, while in 1932 a daughter house was started at San Basile, near Lungro. There is also a number of nuns, engaged in teaching, running orphanages, etc.

As their history would lead us to expect—for a thousand years becoming a smaller and smaller minority, latterly under prelates who often cared little and knew less about Greek Catholics—the rites of worship of these Byzantines gradually degenerated, especially in Calabria. During the second half of the last century, however, this was considerably amended and the Greek liturgy is now observed with a very fair degree of fidelity ; the excellent liturgical books published in Rome are in use. The influence of the Greek College at Rome¹ and of the monks of Grottaferrata, encouraged by the Holy See, is mainly responsible for this. But there is not much to distinguish the church buildings from their Latin neighbours ; most of them are too poor to afford an *eikonostasis*, and in some minor accidentals—round statues, certain feasts and devotions, and so forth—Western usages have become established.

Many of these Italo-Greek-Albanians emigrated to the United States at the end of last century, but there is no record of the number there to-day. They have no special ecclesiastical organization and but few clergy and churches.



During the tenth century the Saracen conquerors of Sicily frequently raided southern Italy, and among their victims were the Greek monks of the monastery of St. Adrian, near San Demetrio Corone. About the year 981 this community

¹ This college, founded by Pope Gregory XIII in 1576, is not a specifically Italo-Greek institution : it also has pure Greek, Melkite and other students. In 1897 its direction was entrusted to Benedictine monks, who have made it once again a thoroughly Byzantine institution.

fled, and was led by its abbot, St. Neilos (called "of Rossano" or "the Younger"), to Monte Cassino. Here the refugees were received "as if St. Antony had come from Alexandria, or their own great St. Benedict from the dead," and eventually given a monastery at Vallelucio as a new home. Twenty years later St. Neilos died at a place on Monte Cavo in the Alban hills (where Cicero had once had a villa), and to that place his monks subsequently moved. Thus was established the Greek abbey of Grottaferrata that exists to this day.

That disgraceful pope Benedict IX spent his last years in penitence at Grottaferrata (the hieromonk Cosmas Buccola in his guidebook to the abbey is very uncommunicative about how the pope came to be buried there), and the monastery, within the domain of the turbulent lords of Tusculum, frequently figures in the history of the Papal States. Pope Pius II made the Greek Cardinal Bessarion its abbot *in commendam*, and he did much for the abbey; but his successor, Cardinal Julian della Rovere (afterwards Pope Julius II), rebuilt it as a fortress ("Uomo di spiriti bellicosi," as Father Cosmas observes), and later commendatory abbots—and others—did much harm. These gentlemen, whose sensitive classicism was such that it could not bear the barbarous Latin of the Breviary hymns, destroyed or hid much beautiful Greek work of the middle ages, plastering it ("plaster" is the right word) with the riotous intemperances of baroque. Not all the monks took this lying down, and their chronicler remarks drily that whereas Cardinal Guadagni is commemorated above the church door in *stone*, the angels venerating our Lady's *eikon* within the church are only *stucco*.

The commendatory abbots did not end till 1824, and the life and worship of the monastery continued to suffer. Further decay was stopped by Pope Leo XIII in 1881, who ordered a rigorous reform and restoration of its Byzantine integrity, which was carried through with gratifying results. And in 1937 the Holy See made it an abbey *nullius (diœcesis)*, that is, the people of the surrounding district are ecclesiastically subject to the abbot as their ordinary.

There are a score of hieromonks and monks at Grottaferrata to-day, mostly Italo-Albanians, their abbot, the Archimandrite Isidore Croce, being the eighty-first successor of St. Neilos. They conduct a junior seminary for their rite there, and, as has been said, have started small dependencies in Calabria and Sicily.

These monks have always had a reputation for learning, and their library contains most valuable manuscripts, including a famous *Typikon* of the eleventh century, on which their editions of the Greek liturgical books are based. The monastery has a school of illumination and Greek palaeography, and a speciality is made of the repair of old and decayed manuscripts. Greek frescoes and mosaics, pushed out of sight by renaissance taste, have been brought back to light, and in 1907 the Archimandrite Arsenios Pellegrini began the formation of a museum¹. On the *eikonostasis* in the basilica is the ancient *eikon* of the All-Holy Mother of God, in whose honour the monastery is dedicated.

For exactly nine hundred and forty years then there have been Greek monks at the very gates of Rome, the capital not simply of the Latin but of the Catholic world. Their Byzantinism has not always been above reproach; but that reproach has now been taken away, and they are a living witness at her heart that "the Church of Jesus Christ is neither Latin nor Greek nor Slavonic but oecumenical" (Pope Benedict XV.) After visiting it, Professor Karolidis, of the University of Athens, wrote in a Greek newspaper that "Here is an oasis of Hellenism right at the centre of Latin civilization." And this Byzantine monastic community goes back unbrokenly and organically through the ages to the time before the tragic separation of Eastern and Western Christians had taken place.

The history of Grottaferrata has been eventful and at times troubled. At the moment of writing (April 1944) it looked as if great trouble might again be at hand: for Grottaferrata lay in the line of the British and American military advance on Rome. This writer has not been able to find out what its fate actually has been; but if it was the worst, Monte Cassino was not able this time to give hospitality and refuge to her Greek brethren. But, whatever has happened Grottaferrata will survive.

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Apart from Grottaferrata, the Byzantines of Calabria and Sicily are now not much more than a "curiosity" (I use the word with no offensive connotation). And, in spite of the reforms and improvements of the past sixty years,

¹ He had been ordained priest according to the Roman rite, and his ordainer was Mgr. (afterwards Carninal) Edward Henry Howard.

to some members of the Orthodox Church they are no doubt a painful curiosity—one more example of the results of “Latin arrogance.” But the history of this tiny minority of Easterners living almost in the middle of the West is much too long and complex to be adequately explained by that phrase. What, one may ask, would have happened to a group of Latins in communion with the Orthodox Church living for the past thousand years in the heart of Greece or of Russia? Or for that matter, one may speculate about what will be the complexion of Orthodoxy itself in the United States of America in a few hundred years’ time.

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THE MELKITES

OF all Catholics of the Byzantine rite the Melkites have probably remained the most thoroughly imbued with the traditions of their race and lands and religious culture, in spite of strong Latin, and especially French and Jesuit, influence. Moreover, their position is unique, since they form the authentic patriarchate of Antioch, His Beatitude Cyril IX being in the direct line of succession from St. Peter himself and the only one of the four great Eastern patriarchs now in communion with the Roman See.

The Melkites number some 200,000 of Arab speech, living in Syria, the Lebanon Palestine and Egypt, with some 1,500 scattered through the New World. They are of the usual mixed race of these parts—Syro-Arab—but they themselves claim a stronger Greek element than their neighbours, and a fierce controversy has raged around the Greek origins of the Melkite “nation.” They tend to call themselves “Catholic Greek Melkites” (as distinguished from “Orthodox Greek Melkites.”) The orthodox believers of these parts were, as is well known, dubbed *Melkites* or *King’s Men* (from the Syrian word *malok*=king, i.e., followers of the emperor’s faith) by the Monophysites after the Council of Chalcedon. Especially when the seventh century Arab invasions had reduced the power and prestige of the orthodox of the three ancient Eastern patriarchates—Alexandria, Antioch and Jerusalem—they came increasingly under the influence of the upstart imperial patriarchate of Constantinople, till in the thirteenth century they finally adopted that city’s liturgy, abandoning their own to the Monophysites. After the schism between Rome and Constantinople—which the work of Prof. F. Dvornik, in particular, has shown to be less clear-cut in the early stages than the older text-books would have it—Antioch, coming within the Byzantine orbit, tended to be in communion with Constantinople rather than with Rome. But this schism, certainly, was never very clear-cut, and we have historical evidence that a number of patriarchs were definitely in communion with Rome.¹ The situation remained thus until 1724, when the election of Seraphim Tanas as the patriarch Cyril VI brought the legitimate line of Antiochene patriarchs into communion with Rome as it has remained to the present day. The French Jesuits had been working for some time in Syria, preparing the minds of both bishops and people to

¹ For the dates of these reunions, see *Melkites Patriarchs* below.

see the need of this union. Cyril V (d. 1720) had proclaimed the decrees of Florence, and though his immediate successor persecuted the Catholic party, more than one bishop at this time was openly Catholic and the Jesuits recognized all Melkite bishops as the local ordinaries. The most openly active of the Catholic party was the remarkable bishop Euthymios of Tyre, who suffered imprisonment and persecution for his position. He was the uncle of Seraphim Tanas whom he educated, sending him to the Propaganda College at Rome from 1702 to 1710. Thus Seraphim's election as patriarch in 1724 was a definite move in favour of reunion on the part of the electors and the ten out of fifteen bishops who supported him, but it provoked violent reaction from the other party. From this time dates the opposition hierarchy, not in communion with Rome and supported by Constantinople and the Turkish government. These outnumber the Catholic Melkites.

Historically then, there is no doubt that these 200,000 hierarchically organized Melkites have every claim to represent in the Catholic Church one of the five great patriarchates awaiting the reunion of their Orthodox brethren. They have a representative importance out of all relation to their numbers. Without them, the Catholicity of the Church would be in some way mutilated. They are pledges of her universality, of her unity without uniformity—they, with other Catholics or oriental rites. As such they are a focus of attention, a kind of "test case" to those not in her communion, as well as to those within it. How far do the Melkites belong to the true stream of Catholic life and to the local, Levantine and Byzantine expression of that life? On the one hand, have they been latinized or given a French character through their union with Rome? On the other, are they Gallican or half separatist because they are not "uniform" with the present-day bulk of Catholics?

The Levant has a peculiar character of its own; a character made out of an extraordinary welter of diverse influences. It has been the battle ground in the past for all but the Far Eastern religions, races and cultures; it is still the home of the Christian, Jewish and Moslem religions in all their variety; of Jewish, Arab, Egyptian, Turkish and European peoples. It is the bridge between Europe and Asia and Africa, the bridge for trade and war and religions. It always has been, and this gives it a curious unstable stability of character. This is true

above all of Palestine and Syria. Perhaps in all their long history these lands have never been tranquil enough to be truly the home of a material civilization, but they have been the cradle of great world religions, and possess a fiery, often restless, zeal. Pilgrims and sojourners in this world who look to another come to no harm in periods and places of unrest. And yet this zeal has not always been St. Benedict's *zelus bonus, qui separat a vitiis et dicit ad Deum et ad vitam aeternam*: it has too often been his *zelus amaritudinis malus*, an evil zeal of bitterness, turning itself to petty jealousies and spite, internecine strife, self-interest, pride, bribery, calumny, murder. Yet through all this there always remains a certain essential nearness to the truths of life and death, a lack of the artificiality that has been clogging and killing the West. Setting foot in France and in England, when one came back from the Lebanon and Palestine between the wars, was somehow stifling: there was such a sense of artificiality, of elaborate evasion of life. The Levantines, of course, are people of elaborate ceremonial, both in church and court and daily life, but that is natural.¹ It is among English artificialities to have no outward ceremonial expression at least for its daily life. Much state ceremonial remains to us and a somewhat maimed church ceremonial, but not participated in.

All these characteristics of the Levant appear in its Christian history and are likely to mark any Church truly native to that soil. How far do they appear in the Melkites, together with other characteristics that belong to their Byzantine rite? Or are those right who fear that union with Rome in modern times necessarily obliterates, whether of set purpose or not, all such characteristics? There is scarcely one that does not appear and the impression is that the French veneer is no more than a courtesy and that Jesuit influence is shown principally in the active and therefore modern Western tendency that they have given to Melkite monasticism.² This judgement

¹ The Melkite patriarch of Antioch, being granted jurisdiction over the Catholic Melkites of Palestine and Egypt, is ceremonially known as " Cyril, our most blessed, most holy and most venerable prince and lord, patriarch of the great cities of God, Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem; of Cicilia, Syria, Iberia, Arabia, Mesopotamia, the Pentapolis, Ethiopia, of all Egypt, and all the Orient (the Roman province Oriens); father of fathers, pastor of pastors and thirteenth Apostle." The Melkites have undoubtedly not lost their oriental love of titles.

² This seems to be increasing rather than diminishing and extending to the nuns but has the same excuse that turned the English Benedictine Congregation into missionaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,

may very easily be wrong. A deeper knowledge might show that Western influence on theology, monastic, spiritual and liturgical ideas, and such things as the celibacy of the secular clergy goes deeper than appears, but the *ensemble* has so full a flavour of its environment that it is difficult to believe that any very radical harm is done.¹ Some influence from the West may be to their gain. Spiritual and intellectual aid may come from the West—and material aid too—which, with its greater numbers has, in many respects, fuller opportunities. It is only Christian brotherhood to share these with the small and long isolated Catholic flocks of the East—but always without arrogance and without confusion between what is of the essence of Catholicism and what belongs to purely local tradition. It is this mixture of arrogance and ignorance on the part of the latin West which the popes have been the first to condemn that has been in danger of doing so serious an injury to the Catholics of the East and the cause of unity. It is that which has too often produced the sense of inferiority—it is difficult to know what else to call it—among Eastern Catholics which makes them try to latinize themselves, to become more like the bulk, the arrogant bulk, of the Catholic Church, in spite of all the papal work for the honour and purity of Eastern rites and traditions. As a latin Jesuit of Greek Orthodox origins said to me in Cairo : “We are used to being the cathedral and can’t get used to being a side-chapel, as we feel the Eastern communities are side-chapels of the latin West.” The tragedy is that the more they latinize themselves or lose their rightful members to the latin rite—in spite of ecclesiastical law forbidding such changes—the more do they become such side-chapels of something other than themselves instead of taking their true and very great and honourable position in the contemporary Church and helping towards the ultimate unity of Christendom. Both they and latin Catholics in the East, especially the French, often in charge of school, university and seminary education, have serious responsibilities, which they are sometimes violating.

The Melkites use the Byzantine liturgy in Arabic, with an occasional exclamation in the original Greek. That is the usual practice, but Greek or Arabic may predominate according

¹ There is some of the restlessness and jealousy, a material civilisation no higher than their neighbours' and the total lack of creative religious art that seems to afflict most of the world and with it the whole Near East; but there is also an abundance of the good characteristics of the Levant.

to local, occasional or personal preference. There are few hard and fast rules in the East and the Melkites keep full Eastern liberty. They never, so far as I have ever seen, reduce it to the equivalent of a Latin low Mass (which I *have* seen in Greece). It is always chanted, though commonly only by priest and server. The deacon, who rightfully plays so important a rôle in the Byzantine liturgy, is unfortunately very rare. Their older churches are arranged according to Byzantine use with their eikonastases, some of them, as at Acre, very fine. Their modern churches, however, show a notable lack of these, with occasional exceptions. This is said to be due to poverty, but this plea does not always hold: one new church at the foot of Mount Carmel contains two marble shrines of the "Little Flower" with never a sign of an eikon of the Mother of God (which makes the integral rite impossible), let alone an eikonastasis. An eikonastasis could be a simple enough erection, the work of local craftsmen. Where there was a will there would probably be a way. An English artist has painted the eikons for one such screen in a hill village of Galilee. My photograph of it has appeared in a previous issue of the *E.C.Q.* (April, 1939).

Monasticism in the Melkite Church is certainly very much alive, but has taken a largely active turn under Jesuit influence,¹ All available man-power for the pastoral priesthood was certainly needed, but side by side with this it is most desirable that traditional Eastern contemplative communities should exist. Otherwise this can be reckoned one of the most seriously unbalancing influences of the West. Mgr. Szeptycky, to whom an article in this issue is devoted, has shown the way with his *Studites* for such a revival of traditional oriental monastic life. God grant it may spread to other parts of the Catholic East, for it would deepen and make more fruitful their whole Christian life. Melkite monasticism consists of three congregations of *Basilians*, each with its complementary communities of women, hitherto purely contemplative but in the last four or five years in process of transformation, and the small but

¹ One can hardly blame the Jesuits in this. If they are called in they are bound to give of their own spirit. There was a time in the West when, because of their fervour and efficiency, they were called in to reform some Congregations of Benedictine monks with not too happy results. But the Benedictines have out-lived this.

The present action of the Jesuits in forming a Province of the Byzantine rite may change their attitude for the good. They certainly are very zealous for *purity of rite*, but the rite is far more than ritual observance.—THE EDITOR.

admirable *Society of Missionaries of St. Paul*, founded by the saintly Mgr. Germanos Muakkad at Harissa in the Lebanon on August 15th, 1903, after his retirement from Baalbek. These are a society of priests who devote themselves to preaching missions and retreats, to the apostolate of the press—they have had a printing-press since 1910 and the review of the patriarchate, *Al-Macarrat*, is entrusted to them—and of Church unity. They have four priests at the patriarchal college at Damascus and themselves have a senior and junior seminary at Harissa founded in 1931 and 1938 respectively. The latter had, in 1942, 70 students when there were 20 priests in the Society and seven clerics, besides lay brothers and novices. The polyglot press has produced many fine liturgical books as well as devotional and apologetic literature. Their mother-house is perched in a wonderful position, near the huge statue (in the Lourdes tradition) of Notre Dame du Liban, on the edge of the steep hill down to the blue bay of Jounieh, near Beirut.¹ The Paulists now have under their wing the *Missionary Sisters of our Lady of Perpetual Succour*, founded, also at Harissa, in 1936, by Mgr. Maximos Saïgh, Metropolitan of Beirut, himself a Paulist. When I was at Harissa the original members of this community were just gathered together in their first temporary home and two nuns of the *Benedictine Missionaries* had just—a few days before—arrived from Paris to help with their spiritual formation. There is much work, besides education, for women to do in these parts where prolonged Moslem influence has in many matters segregated the sexes, and it is to the good that it should all be undertaken by religious of their own rite rather than by French nuns. The foundation stone of their permanent home was laid in 1938 and now the ground floor is in use. May they proceed and prosper!

The three congregations of Basilians are part and parcel of Melkite history and Melkite progress owes everything to them. Indeed there have been times when the secular clergy hardly existed and the Basilians did the whole pastoral work of the church, but this is not an ideal, rather an unfortunate necessity against which there have been many Melkite and papal protests. The earliest of these congregations and the most numerous is that known as *Salvatorian Basilians*. from their mother-house, *Dair al-Makhallis*, Monastery of the Saviour, in the Lebanese hills above Sidon. It was founded in 1708 by that

¹ The accompanying photographs of Harissa I owe to Fr. Peter Chami, Paulist.

Euthymios Saifi, Metropolitan of Tyre (and Sidon) who was uncle of Cyril VI—founded therefore when the whole Melkite church was wavering between Catholic and Orthodox allegiance and before the patriarchate of Antioch came into definitive communion with Rome, but founded by the Catholic metropolitan of the chief diocese, the proto-throne. There it has stood, almost the heart of Melkite life during the troubled history of those parts to the present day, and there it still stands, fortress-like, though often rebuilt,¹ on its hill-top up a winding valley from the sea-shore orange-groves of Sidon. The hills are terraced and carefully cultivated and remind one of Southern France, but—it was late January—are gaudy with huge scarlet and purple anemones, the biggest of crimson cyclamens and fields of pink marguerite. The almond blossom had already faded. Below, the blue Mediterranean is just visible, and above are the snow-capped Mountains of Lebanon. The monastery has a good church with an eikonostasis rather massive than beautiful. A photograph which I took of the altar with its hanging dove pyx accompanies this article. This is probably the best place to be found for assisting at liturgy and monastic office, for the majority of monasteries contain no real community, since the greater number of Salvatorian monks are engaged in parochial work. The monastery has its library and printing-press, a wing that was once for considerable periods the residence of patriarchs (who were often Salvatorian monks), persecuted in their own see of Damascus by the Turks, often instigated by the Orthodox. The Maronites were powerful in the Lebanon and it was always a refuge of persecuted Catholics. The patriarch still quite frequently stays in this wing, now the guest quarters. I believe I slept in the room then assigned to him. The scholasticate (150 seminarists in 1942), *Our Lady of the Annunciation*, is another of the same group of buildings and the novitiate, *the Assumption*, is a few miles off. There are several other Salvatorian monasteries. The long projected transformation of the nuns of *the Annunciation* into a missionary congregation has already begun; their new house was inaugurated on April 27th, 1941. The Salvatorians were founded by Euthymios to do parochial and missionary work, and so would seem to correspond to Western Clerks Regular, though they take solemn monastic vows. Karolevsky (*Hist. des*

¹ Burnt down in 1778 by Jezzār, Pasha of Acre, it was rebuilt with Italian and French alms. It was again sacked in 1840 and 1860.

Patr. Melkites) says that they have no constitutions but I notice the Almanack of *Le Liens* (Melkites in Egypt) for 1942 says "Le fondateur leur donna des Constitutions particulières, inspirées en grande partie de celles des pères Jesuites." Recently the Abbot B. Gariador, of the Cassinese Benedictines of the Primitive Observance, together with a Solesmes monk, was charged with a visitation and reorganization of the Melkite Basilians. In 1942 there were 131 Salvatorian hieromonks.

The Shuwairite Basilians were founded about the same time as the Salvatorians. They were more strictly organized and given definite constitutions, Jesuit in inspiration, later approved by the Holy See. They were not intended as a parochial clergy unless temporarily in some need, but nevertheless have always been engaged in parochial work. The printing-press at St. John's, Shuwair, was the first Arab press to be set up in the Lebanon. They possess several monasteries and number some 63 hieromonks. The transformation of their nuns into missionary sisters has also already begun.

In 1829 among the Shuwairites the split between the Aleppan townsmen and the Lebanese hillsmen—the *Rustics*—was made definitive, so that there have been three congregations since that date. The Aleppans possess three monasteries and two convents and number 50 priests.

All these monks belong thoroughly to their native hills and small towns and, whatever the origin of their constitutions, they have certainly not produced imitation Western Jesuits. It would be interesting to know if there is any serious study of the Fathers among them. I know that the present Superior General of the Salvatorians is a keen student and writer on St. Ignatius of Antioch.

It will be noticed that most of this monastic life is in the hill country of the Southern Lebanon and that is, and has always been, its home rather than the towns, in Turkish times for reasons of security; but it will probably continue to be so because of the difference between the town and country civilization. The prosperous trading populations of the towns with their returned Americanized emigrants are not the best monastic milieu. In most of Syria and in Egypt the Melkites are townsmen, but in Galilee and Trans-Jordan and the South Lebanon, a large proportion live in the hill villages and are farmers as well as craftsmen. I have seen villages in the Galilee hills with considerable Melkite populations, prosperous with rich olive groves, and with their own church and school.

These schools are multiplying and the Melkites in Palestine are proud of being ahead of government schools in teaching English, though one has to admit that it tends to be that odd jargon "commercial English" and pronunciation is sometimes such that "Mary had a little lamb" cannot be recognized! Yet, considering the difficulty of obtaining and training teachers, it is a noble effort. (Could not a handful of English Catholic men and women teachers, who would take the trouble to understand and respect their Christian heritage, devote a few years to helping some of these poor dioceses, especially in the training of a corps of teachers, and especially, perhaps, women teachers? I was told that even retreats for women would have to be given by women). These dioceses of South Lebanon and North Palestine are actually the most populous: Beirut, Zarle, and Haifa each count some 25,000 Melkites and are followed by Sidon with 16,000 and then Aleppo with 12,000 and the patriarchal diocese of Damascus with 10,000. In the North (Tripoli, said to have had 10 Melkites when its first bishop, Totungi of unhappy fame, was created, now has 6,000) and in the South (Haifa and Trans-Jordan) there has been a very considerable increase of Catholic Melkites.

The secular clergy have been trained in various ways and places and in varying degrees at different times in the chequered and always hazardous history of the Melkite Church. The patriarchal seminary at Ain Traz in the Lebanon had quite a long but an intermittent history, sometimes in the hands of the Jesuits, sometimes of the native clergy. It now no longer serves this purpose. The Jesuit university at Beirut offers facilities for many of the clerical students, both secular and regular, and there are Melkites at the Jesuit house at Bikfaia. But the seminary of St. Anne in Jerusalem, with its old crusader church, is now much the most important place of training, of which the monastic communities also make use. It is run by the French White Fathers, their only enterprise outside Africa, and opened its doors to the first sixteen Melkite students in 1882. It gives an excellent—and free—training, though it is said to give them an unduly French character. The White Fathers accept no Melkite vocations for themselves. The liturgy at St. Anne's is of the Byzantine rite, there being Melkite priests among the professors. St. Anne's has trained a celibate clergy and the tendency for many years has been away from a married clergy, but I am told that in the hill villages a celibate clergy is not readily accepted into the homes,

and that the village clergy scarcely need such years of training. At all events a married clergy still exists and there has even (I can only speak here for the diocese of Haifa [Acre]) been a renewed policy of taking married men of known piety, giving them a short training and sending them back to their family, village and craft, there to administer the sacraments. This is certainly in the recognized tradition which should not be forced out of existence, however much a celibate clergy may be held up as an ideal.

The Melkite clergy, from the metropolitan to the parish priest, live as simply as their flocks in their little white houses, perhaps with a few hens on the flat roof. I am thinking of Tiberias on the Lake of Galilee. The archbishop's house in Haifa is a small bungalow, with a central hall serving as dining room and all else and bedrooms leading out of it. The Melkites have the Arab—and surely Christian—tradition of large-hearted hospitality. Indeed it is sometimes a rather overwhelming hospitality, one is so plied with food and with Turkish coffee; nor does it seem possible to show interest in anything without it being given to one. I owe much to their generosity, especially in time, taking me to out-of-the-way villages and monasteries, churches and schools. In all this there is no sign of Westernizing, though French or English may be spoken: they retain a refreshing simplicity and generosity. They can occasionally be childish and restless and there is unhappily a certain bitterness of inter-rite jealousy (though one would almost have expected the Catholic minority to hold together in those lands), but they are not, thank God, sophisticated. How do they compare with the local Orthodox? Well, as far as one could see, for the Orthodox awakenings in Greece, such as Zoë, have not touched Palestine, though I believe they have, in part, Egypt. The Melkites are multiplying both in numbers and in enterprises and, at least in Palestine and Egypt, are far more "native" than their Orthodox counterpart, whose faithful are Syro-Arabs, but whose rule belongs exclusively to the Greeks, which causes not a little friction and bitterness.

Are the Melkites truly Catholics or in some way separatist and only "half-Catholic"? The impudence of the question makes one hesitate to ask it; for the Melkites have suffered two hundred years of Moslem and Dissident persecution and even martyrdom for their Catholicism, and what Western Catholics have done as much? There was a period early

in the last century when one or two patriarchs held a kind of Gallican conciliarism, but that has passed and perhaps it was a healthy sign that local traditions and rights were never in danger of being just "handed over." Still, there are many people both inside and outside the Church who seem to think that the Latin rite and Catholicism are synonymous. Perhaps the majority of people in Western Europe are really unaware that there *are* non-Latin Catholics and quite a number more think it is a kind of half-way state, because these Easterners cannot yet be persuaded all the way; while many non-Catholics seem to think the existence of "Uniates" is a sort of "Jesuitical" trick. The Orthodox sometimes look on them with suspicion and fear, and as a result some better-informed Catholics, who ought to know better, become apologetic for them and would conceal their existence if they could, as though they were an obstacle to reunion. We should only be apologetic for the latinizing and for our own unforgiveable ignorance and lack of respect for them; those may create real obstacles to reunion. But the Byzantine rite is as fully Catholic as the Roman rite and wholly on a par with it. The Church in some sense needs the Byzantine rite within it for the fulness of its life and Catholicity. It is because the Church knows how to love and respect and value the Byzantine rite that it rejoices at possessing these communities and would open its arms to all the Christian East that the fulness of its life may be yet more filled up.

E. J. B. FRY.

THE MELKITE PATRIARCHS.

Although the Melkites are not a very numerous group, yet they are of importance in view of the problem of reunion (as has been shown above) and that specially by reason of their patriarchs.

First, the matter of continuity. The present Melkite patriarch, Cyril IX Mogabgab, is in the direct line of the pre-schism patriarchs of Antioch, whereas the Orthodox patriarch of Antioch comes of a fairly recent opposition line. The bishops of Antioch were known as patriarchs in the fifth century. From that date right down to the schism of Cerularius they were in union with the Holy See; then from 1098 there was a long series of sporadic reunions with Rome (e.g., 1242-1283, 1439-1443, 1457, 1634 and 1664). Then came

definitive reunion in 1718, and in 1724 the line of Orthodox patriarchs of Antioch was set up.¹

Secondly, the present² status of the Melkite patriarch in relation to the See of Rome is very much that of his predecessors before the schism. The procedure of electing the patriarch is as follows. The patriarch is elected by the bishops and then is consecrated and enthroned. The pope receives information of this from the patriarch's delegate in Rome. At the same time, the delegate makes a profession of faith on behalf of the new patriarch. The pope then sends (via the apostolic delegate) the sacred pallium in confirmation. There have been occasions on which the apostolic delegate has presided at the election of an Eastern patriarch, but that has only been when the election was, e.g., likely to be turbulent, and is not usual.

The patriarch himself appoints and consecrates his own bishops, but neither he nor the Supreme Hierarch confers the pallium on archbishops. In the case of bishops who are outside the patriarchate (e.g., in the U.S.A.), they come under the Sacred Congregation of the Eastern Church in Rome of which the pope himself (and not one of the cardinals) is head.—

THE EDITOR.

¹ The authority for the above dates is the table of the patriarchate of Antioch given in *Stoudion* (Agosto-Ottobre, 1926), Vol. III, N. 4-5. I have compared these dates with those in A. Fortescue, *The Uniate Eastern Churches* (1923), pp. 185-202, *Statistica* (1932), pp. 134-141, D. Attwater, *The Catholic Eastern Churches* (1935), pp. 106-108. There is a slight discrepancy owing to the fact that there is room for conjecture as to whether certain patriarchs of Antioch were in communion with the Holy see or no.

² This is also the status of the Maronite and Catholic Syrian patriarchs.

METROPOLITAN ANDREW SHEPTITSKY

Christus me misit ad istam provinciam in qua non parvum populum acquisivi.¹

AMONG Catholic priests of oriental rite, Metropolitan Andrew Sheptitsky is one of the oldest and certainly one of the best known. As strategic and political events are bringing him and his episcopal town into the limelight, some notes on this outstanding personality are not out of place in a review devoted to the Eastern churches.

The metropolitan was born in 1864 in a mansion in east Galicia (or the western Ukraine), a province which at that time belonged to Austria. His ancestors, the Counts Sheptitsky², lived originally in the region of Kiev. They came to Poland in the sixteenth century and became latinized, in spite of which the family gave two metropolitans to the uniate³ see of Kiev in the eighteenth century. The family is of the aristocratic, cosmopolitan type of which many examples were to be found in central or eastern Europe. Their language was French and their political allegiance varied. Thus one of the metropolitan's brothers was Ukrainian deputy in the diet of Galicia; another was an Austrian general, then Polish minister of war; another regarded himself as a Pole; another was a Russian subject and a large landholder under the tsarist régime. In his adolescence Andrew felt the urge to return to the nation—the Ukraine—and to the rite—Eastern—of his forefathers. The influence of two people, Pope Leo XIII and Vladimir Soloviev, caused him to dedicate his life to the cause of Church unity.

After studying law and philosophy at the university of Bratislava (or Pressburg), Andrew became a hieromonk, that is to say, a monk-priest, of the uniate Order of St. Basil. In 1898 he became bishop of Stanislavov (Galicia). In 1900 he was promoted to be metropolitan of Galitch, the old capital of Galicia,

¹ Feast of St. Andrew the Apostle. *Breviarium monasticum, antiphona ad matutinum.*

² The Polish form, Szetycki, is often used. [The name is usually transliterated Szepticky. Editor.]

³ The word *uniate* is used here in its original setting, viz., of those Orthodox bishops, etc., who brought about the *unia* with Rome. It was in the Ukraine that the name had its origin.

Of the other two occasions where the word is used it has special reference to the latinized form of religious life and hybridism in the Byzantine rite (a result of *Uniatism*) as distinguished from the purity of rite and Byzantine monastic tradition favoured by the metropolitan.—EDITOR.

and also archbishop of Lvov¹ and bishop of Kameniets-Podolsk ; this last diocese was situated in the Russian empire. Since he was an exalted personage in the church and also in the Austrian state, the metropolitan sat in the *Herrenhaus* at Vienna. He was the friend and confessor of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and of the Duchess of Hohenberg, who were the victims of the assault at Serajevo. At the outbreak of war in 1914 the metropolitan was already celebrated for his championship of the causes of reunion and of Slavism. It seemed as though he were a new Strossmayer.

When the Russian armies seized Lvov in 1914 the metropolitan was transported to Russia and interned in the Orthodox monastery of Suzdal. When in 1917 he was set at liberty by the Russian government of the time, he went to Petrograd, thence to Sweden, and returned in triumph to Lvov where he was greeted by an archduke sent for the purpose by the emperor of Austria. In 1918 Lvov was the scene of bitter fighting between the Ukrainians and the Poles. The metropolitan, who considered the Curzon line as consonant with justice, defended the cause of the Ukrainians in Paris and London, and then at Rome. As the Polish government objected to his presence in Lvov, he was charged by the Holy See with a mission to the Ukrainians in America. In 1923 the metropolitan tried to return to Lvov but was interned by the Poles at Posen. At length he was able to return to his episcopal town from which he made several journeys to western Europe between 1925 and 1939. When the Soviet armies entered Lvov in 1939, the metropolitan was *defensor civitatis*, the supreme moral and juridical authority, as he had been in 1914. One of his brothers was shot by the Soviet authorities, who made the metropolitan himself a prisoner in his palace and imposed an exorbitant fine on him, but respected his life. He has been living at Lvov under the German occupation. He is ill, almost paralyzed ; he suffers unremitting pain but his intellectual vigour and his apostolic zeal are unimpaired.

Andrew Sheptitsky has often been regarded as a man of political activities, but these are only secondary. It is true that he has played a very important part in the development

¹ In German, Lemberg ; in Polish, Lwow ; in Ukrainian, Lviv ; in French, Leopol ; in Latin, Leopolis. Lvov is the Russian spelling. This city has three Catholic archbishops, one each of Byzantine, Latin and Armenian rite.

of the life of the Ukraine. The national Ukrainian museum established by him (at his own expense) at Lvov has been highly important not only as a centre for the arts but also as a social factor in the history of the Ukrainian people. He himself has been regarded as a spiritual and national leader by the educated people as well as by the peasants of the Polish Ukraine and of a large part of the Russian Ukraine. He had no dealings with narrow chauvinism but advised a policy of moderation. He never preached enmity towards Poland, nor did he uphold a Ukrainian separatism directed against the Russian people. He desired a free existence for the Ukraine in alliance with Russia and maintaining neighbourly relations with Poland.

Readers of this review are aware that the metropolitan restored traditional Eastern monachism in Galicia. As a Basilian monk himself he was of the opinion that the uniate Order of St. Basil, as reformed by the Jesuits, was considerably latinized. He grouped more than a hundred monks in communities which, while they derived their ideals from the great Byzantine monk St. Theodore Studite, did not constitute a Studite order or congregation (such an idea would be strange to the East), but reproduced the traditional features of Greco-Slav monachism, e.g., submission to the bishop of the diocese; manual labour; few priests; no distinction between choir monks and lay brothers (the very terms are unknown in Studite monasteries); dependence on all the rules of the monastic fathers rather than on a special rule; purity of rite and the daily recitation of the whole of the divine office; the ability to follow in the same monastery the different vocations of hermit, or ascetic (especially in the sense of maintaining a fast or keeping silence) as well as of the normal cenobite or of the apostolic worker. Whoever has had the privilege of knowing through personal experience the hard-working and prayerful life of the Studites, is aware of the extent to which the lofty inspiration of primitive monachism is lived among them. If he was initiated as a Benedictine, the life of the Studites enables him to appreciate more fully what Subiaco and Monte Cassino were in the sixth century.

The work of the metropolitan for reunion forms a complex and enthralling chapter in his life story. Before 1914 he had already played an important part in the organization of the Congress of SS. Cyril and Methodius at Velehrad. He founded a seminary at Lvov, which has been erected

into a theological Faculty by Rome, and collected the most important library of Russian theological works of our time in the Stoudion there. His Russian diocese of Kameniets-Podolsk (practically non-existent in 1900) made him head of the Russian Catholics of the Byzantine rite. In virtue of this he founded the "Catholic Orthodox" exarchate in Russia. The first exarch, Leonid Fiodorov, who was trained at Lvov in close touch with the metropolitan, was deported and died under Soviet persecution. Several priests of the exarchate were martyrs or confessors of the faith. The metropolitan shared with Soloviev and Cardinal Pitra the conviction that whereas there was indeed separation between Rome and Russia, it was neither juridical nor formal (in that it had never been proclaimed). This opinion has led him to make extensive use of what in the East is termed "economy" in his dealings with the Russians, a practice which astonished and gave offence to many western theologians but was approved by Pope Pius X. The pope had accorded to him the most extensive faculties of any Catholic bishop at that time. The time has not yet arrived when the story of the Russian Catholic Orthodox exarchate may be written; when that time does come it will be seen that the boldness of conception and spiritual strength of certain people concerned, will have made this one of the most amazing chapters in the history of the Church of Rome.

At present Russian Catholics depend directly on the Holy See. One of the metropolitan's brothers, *begumen* (abbot) of the Studite monastery at Univ, was nominated Catholic bishop of the Oriental rite in Russia during the present war, though it is probable that his administration has been interrupted by the reoccupation by the Russians of territory previously held by the Germans. During the course of the war the metropolitan himself has appealed to the Orthodox bishops in the Ukraine to reconsider the question of reunion. As circumstances would have led him to expect, the reply was courteous but negative.

Among the salient factors which would facilitate reunion, the metropolitan attaches special importance to the following. First, purity of rite from which all trace of hybridism should be excluded. Secondly, the influence of an indigenous monachism which should be simple, ascetic, and akin to the soil and the peasantry. Lastly, the participation of Catholics in the cultural life of Orthodoxy, especially in the field of religious art (iconography). There is no question here of

theological argument, nor of diplomatic negotiation, but just of simple penetration and of sympathetic action, grounded on the soil and linked to local cultural and economic conditions.

It is possible to say now (and it has never been written about before), that it was in the metropolitan's circle at Rome in 1923 that the letter from Pope Pius XI exhorting the Benedictines to devote their special attention and their efforts to the solution of problems of reunion with the East, was thought of and all but drawn up. Also out of conversations between Mgr. Sheptitsky, Dom Lambert Bauduin and some young Benedictine monks from St. Anselmo in Rome in 1923 and at Lvov in 1925, the idea was conceived of founding a Benedictine monastery at Amay for the purposes of reunion. According to the initial plan, Amay ought to have been placed under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan, but as we know, events proved otherwise.

The metropolitan is held in high esteem and deep respect in Orthodox circles. He was the first Catholic bishop to be received with honour in the Russian Orthodox cathedral of St. Alexander Nevsky in Paris (which he visited unofficially), and at the Orthodox theological institute of St. Sergius, also in Paris; both visits were paid in 1925. When in 1938 the Orthodox were persecuted by the Polish government, the metropolitan issued a bold pastoral letter of protest in which he said:—

“ . . . The shocking events of the last months . . . compel me to arise publicly in defence of our persecuted brethren of the un-united Orthodox Church. . . . The Orthodox Church is veiled in sorrow. . . . We must painfully feel the sufferings of our brethren and must brand these anti-Christian acts. . . . ”¹

Mgr. Sheptitsky has not published anything beyond some articles and important pastoral letters. Like M. Huvelin, he prefers “to write on souls.”

Only he who has seen the metropolitan living among his people at Lvov can clearly picture the life of one of the great Eastern bishops of the fourth century. The people surround him with their veneration; they press forward to kiss his hands or his robe. He orders his diocese less by methods of administration than by long and intimate conversations: *cor ad cor loquitur*. His is a great heart, full of generosity

¹ See *The Eastern Churches Quarterly*, October, 1938, pp. 245-251.

and nobility ; he is a man of prayer and faith, without a trace of sentimentality, but with the strength, goodness and realism of a patriarch. Young men from Holland, France and England have sought from him formation and spiritual direction. It may have happened, in certain cases, that the circumstances of life have painfully severed the external link, but the interior bond with "Father Metropolitan" (as he likes to be called), the impression he leaves, and affection, remain unchanged.

The outcome of the war will probably place Lvov within the sphere of Soviet influence. Perhaps it may please God to call the metropolitan to become an essential factor in the spiritual rebirth of Russia and the Ukraine. Perhaps his existence and work will just be tolerated by the government ; or perhaps the hour will come, as we believed that it had come in October 1939, when he will be called upon to give final witness to his Master. At the risk of betraying a secret we will say here that all his life the metropolitan has desired beyond all things, and asked for, the grace to become a martyr.

As an introduction to this article we quoted an extract from the breviary, a sentence taken from the office of St. Andrew, Mgr. Andrew Sheptitsky's patron saint. Once again we quote from the same office :¹

*Doctor bonus et amicus Dei Andreas ducitur ad crucem,
quam a longe aspiciens dixit : Salve crux . . . O bona crux
diu desiderata et jam concupiscenti animo praeparata.²*

TESTIS.

¹ *Breviarium monasticum, die xxx Novembbris, antiphonae ad Matutinum.*

² If in writing these pages the author may be thought to have struck a rather too personal note, he asks the reader to forgive him. He has been intimately connected with the life of Mgr. Andrew Sheptitsky and owes him more than words can express. He cannot recall the memory of past years without distress.

Already a kind of " golden legend " has grown round the metropolitan. The writer can testify to a remarkable fact on which he does not intend to give opinion here : it is the complete disappearance of a wound within a few hours, after prayer and contact with something belonging to the metropolitan. The event was unknown to Mgr. Sheptitsky.

UKRAINIAN CATHOLICS

The Ukrainian (Ruthenian) Catholics are the largest group of Catholics of the Byzantine rite. At the present day there are some three and a half millions in Galicia, which after 1923 was recognized as a province of Poland. On the south side of the Carpathians, at the eastern end of Slovakia, they number some 550,000. There are some thousands elsewhere in Europe. In the U.S.A., there are 553,000 Ukrainian Catholics, of whom 309,000 are Podcarpathians. In Canada there are more than 300,000, and some 67,000 in South America.

In the *E.C.Q.* of July 1937 an article was devoted to these Ukrainians¹. Because of their numbers and their historical background, they present a special problem in relation to reunion work. We hope in our January issue, 1945, to have the question considered by a Catholic Pole interested in reunion. The matter of "hybridization" has also to be considered, and it must be considered in a large and realistic way. We have been told that Metropolitan Sheptitsky, although a great advocate of conserving the purity of the Byzantine rite, considers that this is very difficult to do in a country where there are various rites or a predominant Latin rite, and that he allows in his own diocese of Lvov, two *ordos* (and uses): one of the pure Slav-Byzantine rite and the other of "uniatized," with its particular customs. In districts which are for the most part Orthodox, he insists on the pure Byzantine rite being observed by Catholics under his jurisdiction.—THE EDITOR.

¹ Also see article in *Blackfriars*, July, 1944, by D. Attwater. "Poles who are not Poles."

NEWS AND COMMENTS

CORRECTION.

In the January–March 1944 issue of the *E.C.Q.* (p. 259) we quoted from the *Czechoslovak Catholic Bulletin* to the effect that Abbot Prokop Neuzil had retired and that Dom Oldrich Zlamal had succeeded him as abbot of St. Procopius' monastery, Lisle, Illinois, U.S.A.

We have just heard direct from St. Procopius that Abbot Neuzil has not retired but “is at his writing still, in office, and in comparatively good health despite his 83 years.” We are sorry for the false report and wish him many years of further work. Oldrich Zlamal is not a Benedictine but a secular priest of Cleveland, Ohio.

EDITOR.

OBITUARY.

On May 15th, 1944, the Patriarch Sergius of Moscow died. He was born in 1867 and began his life of work for the Church as a missionary in Japan under Bishop Nikolai. He was then chaplain to the Russian Embassy at Athens but was soon recalled to Russia where he became rector of the Theological Academy of St. Petersburg of which he had been a student. Later he became archbishop in turn of Finland, Vladimir, and Nizhni Novgorod, and then metropolitan of Moscow and Guardian of the Patriarchal throne, and eventually, a few months before his death, patriarch.

In 1901–3, Bishop Sergius, then rector of the Theological Academy, was the leader and president of the Religious Philosophical Meetings where representatives of the intellectual circles of the capital met. This close study of the problems raised for Christians by Marxist thought was no doubt a preparation for him in guiding the Church thirty years later in some of the most difficult circumstances that a churchman has been confronted with. Time can only show how well he has made it possible for the Christian Church to survive in the U.S.S.R. R.I.P.

Metropolitan Alexis of Leningrad has been appointed as Guardian of the Patriarchal throne until a new election takes place.

ON CONDUCTING ONESELF IN AN ORTHODOX CHURCH.

The following treatment of the question of how Catholics should act while attending an Orthodox or any other dissident Eastern church is taken from *Stoudion* (August–October, 1926), a Review of the churches of the Byzantine rite published in Rome and edited by Father Cyril Korolevsky, a Catholic priest of the Byzantine rite and a consultor of the Oriental Congregation.

What should be the behaviour of a Catholic who is present at a religious service in a dissident Orthodox church, not *ex devotione* but from friendly curiosity or at a funeral or wedding? May he bow before the holy Gospels or before the Blessed Sacrament presented by the priest, or should he remain unbending and aloof, lest he be accused of schismatical tendencies?

This depends essentially on the circumstances of time, place, and persons. There may be something in them to put one in danger of *communicatio in sacris*, or there may be nothing of the sort. Care should be taken not to exaggerate in one direction or the other, and to guard against narrow-spiritedness.

The theological principles always valid in such a case are:—

(1) to profess a false dogma is never lawful; (2) one is bound to avoid any danger of personal perversion, that is, of exposing oneself to loss of faith; (3) we must not by our actions cause scandal to our neighbours. These principles are valid for both Catholics and non-Catholics.

Apply these to the above case; bowing at the blessing given with the book of the Gospels, worship of the Blessed Sacrament, and such acts as making the sign of the cross at the priest's benediction, accepting a candle when one is offered, kissing the cross and the hand of the priest if he presents it to you, are certainly not the profession of a false dogma. It may be objected that in acting thus you recognize the lawfulness of worship which, not being conducted by a priest in communion with Rome, is Christian but not Catholic. But in the case given, and in similar circumstances, it is obviously not so. The priest has no intention of obliging you to acknowledge to him the trueness of his church, any more than you have of recognizing it. You simply give honour to those things which are holy both to him and to you; you worship the Lord whom he has caused to come down upon the altar by virtue of his undoubtedly priestly character;

you testify to him your respect for the person of a servant of God. It would be another matter if the Orthodox religious authority claimed that by such actions you positively took part in their worship as the only true one. Then, indeed, a purely passive attitude would be obligatory. But the case is not so. There is, then, no profession of false dogma.

Is there any danger of perversion for yourself? Evidently not, for you know quite well that this church, this priest, are not in communion with the Catholic Church, and that by these actions you do not renounce that church, even "in a sort of way," or however often you do them. There is clearly no more danger of your turning from your church than of the Orthodox who surround you turning from theirs. The case is altered for those Catholics who think that, on the whole, Catholicism and Orthodoxy are all one. Ill-instructed Catholics of this kind are well advised not to go into Orthodox churches at all until they are better informed. For there is an essential difference: the one is the true Church, the other is not.

What about scandal? Plenty of Catholics, in the East as well as in the West, are firmly convinced that everything about the Orthodox Church is bad—exactly like those Orthodox who think the same of the Catholic Church. In either case there is ignorance, and sometimes fanaticism. This scandal is sometimes simply pharisaical; it can hardly avoid a charge of bad faith, and there is nothing to do but disdain it and take no notice. More often it is caused by ignorance, and in this case there must be gentle enlightenment. The system of worship of the Orthodox Church is in itself as lawful and sacred as our own. These people are Christians, and in giving respect to their holy things and to their clergy we fulfil a precept of the virtue of religion which binds us as much as it does them. There is one thing which we may not do, because from the earliest times it has been looked on as the visible token of unity in communion: we may not receive their sacraments, and by sacraments must be understood sacraments strictly so-called. Lawfully to do that one must have a dispensation from the visible Head of the Church, or from one of his delegates empowered to grant it. Otherwise you commit an act of schism. (Such a dispensation is rare, but not unknown. The commonest example is the general authorization which allows a dying person to confess to and receive absolution from a non-Catholic priest, if no

Catholic priest, even though suspended or interdicted, is at hand. Viaticum also may be thus received, if there is no danger of scandal.)

The way in which an act of veneration of holy things in an Orthodox church is regarded of course depends a lot on the place in which you are. At Constantinople, for example, it is not uncommon to see Catholic religious perched even in the choir stalls ; it scandalizes no one, especially if they are Latins. On the other hand, a Catholic priest, or even more a prelate, of Eastern rite will do this less easily, or even not at all, if he is known in the city, because a different impression might be given. The Orthodox freely invite people to a place in the choir, or even in the sanctuary, and they do so with the sole intention of honouring their visitors. In many places there is nothing to prevent a Catholic from accepting such an invitation¹; but in a country where the two communions are in open dispute, obviously he should not do so. It is a question of judgement.

Take another point of view : that of the scandal given to Orthodox folk by the stand-offish attitude of a Catholic who goes into one of their churches but fails to make any sign of the cross, refuses the candle offered to him, turns away from the priest or his cross, and so on, although there is not the slightest intention of making him recognize the lawfulness of Orthodox worship. Catholics do not generally consider this point of view sufficiently. Some of them see schism everywhere—in the gospel-book on the Orthodox altar, in the cross which the priest holds ; they behave as if the officiant were Photius or Michael Cerularius or Mark of Ephesus in person. We need not fear to tell them that such an attitude gravely scandalizes the Orthodox ; it seems to them that they are looked on as Muslims, Jews or heathen, rather than as Christians—they who so often have no enmity towards the Catholic Church which they know little or nothing about. And how many Catholics in the West, even priests, have an adequate knowledge of the Orthodox Church ? For that matter, how many Latin Catholics, even priests, in the East, really know it ? They make confirmed enemies and compromise the work of peace and reunion. Catholics who are so minded had better never to enter an Orthodox church.

¹ In Egypt, for example, non-Catholic prelates are sometimes present at Catholic funerals, etc., and receive liturgical honours, and *vice versa*. *Translator.*

The writer knew a Latin Catholic, well-informed in religious matters, who liked to be present at Orthodox services without, of course, participating in their sacraments. He told me that whenever a commemoration was made of the head of the hierarchy—the only point on which the liturgies do not agree—he said the same prayer to himself, but naming the Pope. As he was not well-known in the neighbourhood, no scandal was given to other Catholics, even to those of weak faith or knowledge. The Orthodox, on the other hand, were thoroughly edified. "Look at this Catholic," I heard said of him, "he behaves better than we do in church ; he does not forget to cross himself, he bows his head at the deacon's invitation (which is more than we do), he is respectful to the priest." The people who took this line were the first to help the establishment of a group of Catholics of Eastern rite in their town. "Since we must be united to some other organization, for we cannot remain isolated as we are," they said, "it is better that it should be with the Catholics who have the same rite as ourselves, than with the Anglicans."

To repeat, in the case named, or one like it, the three theological principles set out above must be applied. We must consider the circumstances and adapt our conduct in accordance with them. Everyone would not take so large a view, but the writer is persuaded that it is a right one, commendable to conscience and to the Catholic Church, and that it should scandalize neither Catholics nor Orthodox. Scandal is as grave to one as to the other. Did not St. Paul circumcise his disciple Timothy, though circumcision had no longer any legal effect ? Did not the Apostolic Council of Jerusalem forbid the eating of blood and things strangled lest the Jews be shocked, even though this Mosaic prescription had been abrogated by the Sacrifice of the Cross ? Reunion will be hastened when both sides are less rigid and intransigent about such matters. Obviously a Catholic cannot in any circumstances kiss the image of "St. Photius,"¹ but there is no reason why he should not kiss that of St. Spiridion by the side of it. The Orthodox priest would certainly never be scandalized by a Catholic visitor to his church who did not kiss the image of Photius ; but he would be if the Catholic gave no sign of religion in any other part of the building either.

¹ The recent studies of Professor Dvornik place Photius in a new light, but that leaves Father Korolevsky's point untouched.—EDITOR.

FURTHER NOTES.

Since the whole treatment of this subject is one of how canon 1258 of the Codex is to be *interpreted* in relation to the dissident Eastern churches (or at least the Orthodox Church), it is as well to give as many examples of local practice as possible and as space allows, especially for English readers who do not often come across such cases.

In Rome (before the war) the students of the *Russicum* were allowed to go with their rector's permission to liturgical services at the little Russian Orthodox church. While there they assisted at the liturgy with due reverence, kissing the eikons on entering the church and during the liturgy, kneeling with the congregation during the consecration and the Lord's Prayer, kissing the cross at the end of the service. The same practice was adhered to by Catholic religious in Belgium who accompanied groups of Orthodox boys (pupils of a Catholic school) when they went to make their Easter duties.

The following are the statements of a Catholic officer in the British army who was stationed in Egypt for four or five years :—

" 1. Melkite cathedral (in communion with Rome), 31st October, 1925.

" (a) Funeral office for the late patriarch of Antioch, Alexandria and Jerusalem (Mgr. Dimitrios Qadi).

 "A catafalque was in front of the eikonostasis, with eikons at head and foot.

 "The Delegate Apostolic (Mgr. Camlo), in choir dress, on throne on gospel side, the vicar patriarchal of Melkites in Egypt (Mgr. Autun Farrag) on the throne on epistle side (i.e., the throne always found in a Byzantine church), the vicar apostolic of Egypt (Mgr. Hygino Nuti, O.F.M.) and lesser clergy in stalls.

" (b) The locum tenens, Mgr. Theophanes, of the Orthodox Patriarchate (the metropolitan of Leontopolis, if my memory serves) came in, in mandyas and accompanied by two or three Orthodox priests, the archpriest of the Coptic cathedral and an Armenian priest followed.

 "All these clergy in (b) were non-Catholic; each kissed the eikons at the catafalque, and at the appropriate times was incensed according to his rank.

(On entering each had bowed to the Apostolic Delegate who acknowledged by removing his biretta)."

- " 2. Orthodox cathedral 'Evangelismos,' Alexandria, Sunday, 13th June, 1926. Enthronement as patriarch of Alexandria of Meletios II Metaxakis.

" I was in a stall on the north side, close to the eikonostasis. Catholic clergy—several Melkites, Armenian, a Lazarist father and two Franciscans—occupied stalls on the south side, facing me. There were a few Catholic laity in the nave. The uniate [Eastern Catholic] clergy kissed the principal eikons on coming in : the Latins bowed profoundly (probably didn't know what to do !) All were incensed according to rank.

" On this occasion no Catholic prelate higher than the archimandrite of the Melkite cathedral was present."

- " 3. [Dissident] Coptic cathedral, Alexandria, 15th September, 1927. Memorial service for the late Coptic patriarch, Cyril V.

" Meletios II Metaxakis and the metropolitan of Leontopolis, two [Catholic] Melkite priests and the Grand Rabbi of Egypt were present. The office was conducted by two Coptic bishops. The two Orthodox prelates and the two Melkite priests kissed the eikons, and the pall on the catafalque ; in their turn they received liturgical honours. The Jew was treated as a distinguished layman would be with us.

" These three instances are of some importance. Numbers 1 and 3 can be dismissed as occasions on which sympathy was shown in a polite Eastern fashion, but No. 2, to me at least, is a different story. It is the presence of Catholic representatives at the enthroning of the Orthodox patriarch of a see which has also a titular occupant in communion with Rome ; in fact, there is more than one patriarchate. I leave you to think over the implications which can arise, and would arise in this country. But I am certain that nobody present on that very hot June day in 1926, in the Greek cathedral of the Annunciation,

had any misunderstandings about authority and theological position.

"In my own attendance at dissident services in Egypt, I was known to be a Catholic; I did not formally go to the eikons to kiss them, but if one was offered to me, I did so. If blessed palm, or a rose or other object was offered, I accepted, but I have always drawn the line at accepting the *antidoron*, which seems to me to be so similar to the 'pain bénit' with its association with the Blessed Sacrament that to take *antidoron* approaches somewhat to *communicatio in sacris* and is better avoided.

"I always feel that it is a great pity that English Catholics, when, as in Egypt, they have the opportunity of seeing the uniates and dissidents in their respective churches, fail to do so. I fear that it arises partly from indifference, partly from a superiority complex and partly from ignorance of where they can go and what they can do. Provided each Catholic hears Mass or Liturgy in a church in union with the Holy See, he is free to wander into a dissident church on a Sunday. In London at the Greek church in Moscow Road or the Russian in Buckingham Palace Road, one sees a few Anglicans, but never a Catholic."¹

Concerning the question of receiving the *antidoron* (blessed bread): some Jesuits at Rome of the Slav-Byzantine rite say it may in some cases give scandal. Father Korolevsky allows it. The British officer decides against receiving it.

In all this matter the individual Catholic should consult a well-informed priest or his confessor before assisting at such services. The above is given as some guidance in the matter.

¹ "Never" is too strong, but not much. Catholics, both clerical and lay, occasionally visit the Orthodox churches in London. At the Julian Easter, 1940, a Catholic layman received two gaily painted eggs at the Orthodox church in Liverpool, which subsequently gave great delight to the children of his household.—EDITOR.

LETTER TO THE EDITOR

SOME OBSERVATIONS FROM BASRA AND MALABAR.

We think the following will be of interest and it also confirms some of the statements of Mr. Aldridge from the Middle East.—EDITOR.

Dear Father,

There are three Chaldean churches and one Chaldean boys' school in Basra and its neighbourhood. In old Basra city itself you have the Chaldean church of St. Thomas the Apostle and, at a short distance, the Chaldean boys' school of St. Thomas the Apostle. This church of St. Thomas the Apostle used to be the cathedral church of Basra in the days when there was a bishop of the Chaldean rite in that city. In Ashar—Basra's sea-port (barely a mile from old Basra city)—you have the very large Chaldean church of the Immaculate Conception. This is cruciform, with a dome at the crossing. This dome is the only evidence of the presence of Christianity on the sky-line of Basra and Ashar. All the other Christian churches are so hidden away, or so small, that their very modest little bell-towers are scarcely to be discerned—though they all (especially the Discalced Carmelites at the Latin church of Our Lady of Ransom in old Basra) make their presence felt very considerably by their bell-ringing! There are two priests at the Immaculate Conception at Ashar—the principal of the two an archpriest, by virtue of which he wears a blue lining to the wide sleeves of his cloak. Things are certainly done in some style at this church: vespers each day at 4 p.m. Every time I went there were at least 150–200 people present, and they all sang. What a lesson for the Roman rite, in our part of the world anyway! This church at Ashar is not old; it was built only in 1935, I believe, and H.H. Pope Pius XI contributed towards the cost of its erection. I imagine it took the place of an older and smaller church.

At Margil, about five miles from Ashar, is the third Chaldean church of the neighbourhood. It is called "St. Joseph's," and is lent for the duration of war to the Latin rite. It serves now as a church for the military.



In addition to the Chaldean churches I have mentioned there are also two West Syrian Catholic churches, two Latin churches (both in charge of the Discalced Carmelite Friars), an Armenian dissident church, a very beautiful church, whose priest and faithful are on the best of terms with their Catholic neighbours. The priest even sends his sons to the school run by the Discalced Carmelite Friars.

* * * *

Personally I find the Malabar coast of India most interesting. Those Eastern rite Catholics there are simply wonderful. Were all India like the provinces of Cochin and Travancore things would be vastly different there. The Syro-Malabar Carmelite Friars are greatly to be praised for their educational work which has done so much to raise the provinces of Cochin and Travancore above the other states of India.

Yours sincerely,

D. E. HALLIDAY,

(Merchant Navy).

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

The Christian Sacrifice. By Canon Eugène Masure, director of the Grand Séminaire, Lille. Translated from the second edition of *Le Sacrifice du Chef*, with a preface by Dom Illtyd Trethewan, Monk of Downside Abbey. London. Burns Oates & Washbourne. 15s.

This work forms a welcome contribution to the study of a problem as perplexing as it is attractive. The author has gone deeply into his subject, and though the whole volume is worthy of a careful perusal, the third part will probably be the most interesting to the majority of readers. Here we have an excellent summing-up of the controversy concerning the sacrificial character of the Mass, together with a very full exposition of the author's own view of the question. He decides in favour of what is known as the theory of the practical or efficacious sign. This view has found favour with many modern theologians, and is familiar to English readers chiefly from the writings of Abbot Vonier. Yet the author speaks with great respect of the rival theory of Père de la Taille, especially on its destructive side, though he differs from him in the constructive portion. Unable to find any immolation in the ritual of the Mass, de la Taille removed all immolation back to the sacrifice of Calvary. M. Masure, viewing sacrificial immolation rather as a consecration than as a destruction, is able to restore immolation to the Mass as an essential feature. How far he has succeeded in vindicating his position will be a matter of opinion. To the present reviewer, the theory seems open to grave objection on several grounds.

The formal element in sacrifice is admittedly the sacrificial action of the priest. In the Mass, this action is the utterance of the words of consecration by the celebrant, whereby the bread and wine are changed into the living body and blood of Christ. In order to explain how the Mass is a true sacrifice, we have to show what it is precisely that gives to this action its sacrificial character.

For M. Masure and the school he represents, this action of the priest is sacrificial because its term is a victim, viz., the living Christ, who once offered himself as a victim on the Cross, and whose sacrifice virtually remains for ever. From this it follows that wherever Christ is, there is His sacrifice. Thus the priest, in making Christ present on the altar, offers to God a true victim. Therefore, the priest's action is sacrificial.

To this explanation it may be objected that (1) it derives the sacrificial character of the action from the victim—the victim specifies the action. But in a true sacrifice, the process is the reverse of this: the action specifies the victim, i.e., a victim becomes such only because it terminates a sacrificial action. Again, (2) the theory treats the virtual permanence of the sacrifice of Calvary as if it were its formal perpetuation. But no sacrificial action can formally endure as such, for by its nature it is something transient, and though its effects may be perpetuated in the victim, the formal sacrifice ends with the completion of the passing action. Thus the resurrection and ascension of Christ, and His perpetual intercession for us in heaven, are not formal parts of His sacrifice: they are the effects and consequences of that sacrifice. Similarly, to bring back to the altar and again offer to God a victim which has already been immolated once, is not to offer a formal sacrifice, however much the consequences of that immolation may be supposed to remain. In every true sacrifice the victim becomes such *only through the sacrificial action of the priest.*

Moreover, (3) the sacrificial action must be an external sense-perceptible sign; therefore, in the Mass, it cannot be anything dependent on, or derived from the Real Presence, for that presence, with its accompaniments, is invisible, and is known to us only by faith. In other words, the sacrificial act must lie in the plane of the accidents, and since the accidents of the Holy Eucharist are those proper to bread and wine, the sacrificial action must be consonant with the nature of these elements, i.e., the mode of the action must correspond with the mode of Christ's presence; and since this presence is "under the forms of bread and wine," so also must the mode of offering be adapted to the exigencies of bread and wine.

Finally, (4) the proposed theory would reduce the Mass to no more than an analogous sacrifice, for, in making the formal determinant of the sacrifice something hidden beneath the accidents, the Mass is removed from the category of sacrifice, which is essentially an external sign—and is placed apart as something unique and outside all categories. Yet, when the church assures us that the Mass is a true sacrifice, she can only mean that the Mass belongs to that category of things which we call sacrifices, i.e., the Mass possesses a certain element common to all sacrifices, which element—

whatever it be—will form its essential constituent as a sacrifice. In other words, the Mass is a sacrifice *univocally*, not analogously. What is unique in the Eucharist cannot be that which makes it a sacrifice, just as that which is unique in the manhood of Christ cannot be that which makes Him a man. Hence, all those theories which find the formal constituent of the sacrifice among the realities lying beneath the accidents, reduce the Mass to a merely analogous sacrifice. The Council of Trent, on the other hand, definitely teaches that the Mass is a sacrifice, not in any analogous sense, but in the true and *proper* sense of the term: “*verum et proprium sacrificium.*” Hence such theories fail to vindicate the Catholic dogma.

It would seem, therefore, that M. Masure’s argument, for all its ingenuity, does not give us what we are seeking, a thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the sacrificial character of the Mass. He has, indeed, much to say about the early tradition of the Eucharist, about the break with tradition, and the subsequent return to it, but he has not found the oldest tradition of all, a tradition which is discoverable not only in the early scholastics, in the Fathers of the Church, both Eastern and Western, and in the New Testament, but is unmistakeably traceable even in the Old Testament. It is too often forgotten that the Old Testament envisages, as a feature of the new dispensation, a ritual sacrifice without any blood-shedding, a true *sacrificium incruentum*. How would the Jews have understood such a sacrifice? What would be its essential elements? Here is the real question; and here we catch a glimpse of an approach to the problem which some will consider novel, though in reality it is very ancient; we must, from the Old Testament and from Jewish tradition, reconstruct our conception of the *sacrificium incruentum*, discover more exactly its true elements, and then show how these elements are all present in the Mass. Then will the Mass appear in its true proportions as the culmination of that divinely authenticated liturgical worship whose centre is a true and proper sacrifice.

It seems reasonable to believe that the method of approach here suggested may appeal to our Eastern brethren who, while firmly defending the sacrificial character of the Mass, are often not attracted to the highly technical expositions of Western theologians. Technical theology is indispensable, yet the intensive study of Holy Writ often brings us nearer revealed truth than even the profoundest speculation.

DOM ANTHONY FLANNERY.

Russian Letters of Direction, 1834-1860. By Macarius, Starets of Optino. Selection, translation and foreword by Julia de Beausobre. (Dacre Press, Westminster). Pp. 108. 5s.

This is no ordinary book of devotional reading and guidance. It is a collection of letters of direction of one of the famous starets (i.e., "old man," "elder") of Optino in the nineteenth century and one who was a great advocate of the Prayer of Jesus. Madame de Beausobre has written an invaluable *Foreword* of some sixteen pages in which she traces the origin and tradition of startsy (plural of starets) in Russia. The first recorded starets was Nilus of Sora (1453-1508). Then came Paissi Velichkovski (1722-1794), who, after wandering through the Eastern Ukraine (the country of his birth) and Moldavia in search of some starets, arrived at Athos in 1746 and was ordained priest twelve years later. With fifteen disciples he lived in the new skeet of St. Elijah (a group of 16 huts). He founded his teaching on the Prayer of Jesus and a profound knowledge of scripture and the Fathers. After further travels, owing to wars and disturbances, he settled in Niametz in Moldavia where he died on November 15th, 1794.

Paissi had organized a school of translators and many studious monks gathered round him, living four, five or six in a cell. They compared the Greek and Slavonic texts of the Fathers and also translated them into Moldavian. Here also many Russian novices came. After the death of Paissi his influence, which had been diffused throughout Russia, was centred in the monastery of Optino in Central Russia. Here his Cossack pupil, Theophanes, settled in 1800. Twenty-two years later the Optino *Desert* (*pustyn* or *skeet*) was founded. Then began the time of the three famous startsy of Optino: Leonid, Macarius and Ambrose.

Macarius, born in 1788, belonged to the landed gentry. He went in 1810 to the *Desert* of Ploshchansk on a visit but stayed as a monk. He came to Optino in 1834. There he became the director chiefly of educated men and women, and it is from his *Letters to Lay People*, printed in Moscow in 1880, that this selection is made. The translator has gathered her selection under the heading of the Beatitudes. For example, under the heading "Blessed are the merciful," is advice concerning life in the world, wealth, wages, work, the life of Religion; under "Blessed are they that mourn," sorrow,

failure, poverty, bereavement, illness are considered. This will show the breadth of view of the director.

We have stressed the historical background of Macarius because we think it important that Catholic readers should realize that monks devoted to the Prayer of Jesus can both be engaged in critical intellectual work and also have their minds steeped in the liturgy (e.g., Seraphim of Sarov, 1759-1833).

If the Orthodox spirituality tends to individualism, as we have often been told, it is of a different type from that of the west; it at any rate links the starets with the Church and the cosmos.

The book is very complete with references and very well Englished. We sometimes wish that other selections had been made or that we were able to read a full treatise of Macarius and not only the part of a letter. Perhaps some further work will be brought out.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

The Seven Steps of the Ladder of Spiritual Love. By the Blessed Jan van Ruysbroeck. Translated by F. Sherwood Taylor. With an Introduction by Joseph Boland, S.J. (Dacre Press, 1943 or 4. 3s. 6d.)

This deep and lovely little book has found a translator worthy of it. Its English form has the flavour of an original spiritual classic. Mr. Taylor has obviously soaked himself in the language of the English Mystics and the result is a style that has all their spirit and rhythm and true Englishry while it never ceases to be good modern prose or becomes in any way *quaint*. The beauty both of original and translation can be found in one little sentence describing that "Mode of heavenly song," which is no longer on earth but after the resurrection of the body in heaven; then "Christ our cantor and precentor shall sing with His glorious sweet voice an endless canticle of the praise and honour of His heavenly Father; and we shall all sing the same with glad heart and clear voice, eternally and without end."

For deep understanding and clarity it would be difficult to surpass in any mystic a passage on the "fourth mode of celestial song, . . . the most excellent that can be sung, whether in heaven or on earth": "And this living unity with God is in our essence, and we have no power to understand, attain to, or grasp it. It baffles all our powers, asking us to become

one with God without medium, which indeed we have no power to grant. Therefore we follow it into the repose of our being, and in this repose the Spirit of God rests and dwells with all His gifts, infusing both grace and gifts into our faculties, and calls on us to rest and be one with Him above all virtues. Whence comes it that we can neither abide in ourselves with good works, nor above ourselves at rest with God. And this is the inmost play of love.

"The Spirit of the Lord worketh ceaselessly and wishes that we should ever act and be like to Him, but He is also the repose and fruition of the Father and Son, and of all those dear to Them, in eternal rest. Moreover this fruition is above all our works, nor have we the power to take hold of it. Our acts always remain outside this fruition, for we cannot bring action into fulfilment. When we act we are always at a loss, for we cannot love God enough; but in fruition there is enough and we are all that we can wish."

E. J. B. FRY.

Three Russian Prophets. By Nicolas Zernov. (S.C.M. Press).
Pp. 171. 8s. 6d.

In his introduction Dr. Zernov points out that Russia is not a national state like France or Italy, but a cultural unity embracing a number of different races and nations. Yet its cohesion has always depended on the common outlook upon life of the dominant majority, the Russians proper, and that old Russia is the foundation of the new. Russian culture then is Christian but not European; it is the mediator and interpreter of the two worlds, Europe and Asia. This is its importance at the present day and in the future.

This book, then, is intended to solve the puzzle that the conduct and character of Russians often present to the Western mind by giving a true insight into the history of Russian Christianity. The author does this partly by a general survey and partly by studying three of her greatest Christian writers; writers who, while they belonged to old Russia, yet were both in touch with the West and foresaw the revolution that gave birth to new Russia.

The general survey is given in chapter I, "the Russian background." This is excellent, though much of it will be found in any book dealing with "Holy Russia." There are, however, some points which the author makes that are of great importance. In speaking of the causes that contributed

to Russia's isolation, he mentions, like most writers on the subject, the climate and geography of the Russo-Siberian plain, and then devotes some space to considering the results of the use of the Slavonic tongue in worship and teaching. Not only did this mean that Scholasticism, the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Counter-reformation all lay outside Russia's interest, but that the common heritage of Byzantine and Latin Christians, e.g., Plato and Aristotle, Virgil and Cicero, were unknown to the Russian. For "till Peter the Great's reforms at the end of the XVII century, neither Latin nor Greek played any part in moulding the mind of any class of Russian society." We feel, however, that this statement needs some modification. Even granted that the isolation from the thought of the rest of Christendom began after the Kiev period, there were surely some centres where at least Greek culture lingered as well as some noted individuals with a knowledge of things European. St. Sergius of Radonezh, who lived through the Mongolian invasion and who died in 1392, though he was not a learned man was a great lover of books and he encouraged the copying of manuscripts in his monasteries. His friend, St. Alexis, Metropolitan of Moscow (d. 1378), was versed in Greek and used to go to Constantinople. And St. Nilus of Sora (Sorsk), who died in 1508, had studied the Greek Fathers at Mount Athos. The work of translation from the Greek went on under the monks Paissi Velichkovski (d. 1794), and Macarius of Optino (d. 1867). This was a continuous stream of Greek learning and, though most of it was concerned with ascetic writings, yet it was a small stream that flowed throughout Russian history.

But the main part of the book is taken up with the three studies of Alexei Khomiakov (1804-1860), Feodor Dostoevsky (1821-1881), and Vladimir Soloviev (1853-1900). All three men represented both Russian and European culture. Their outlook on Europe is best stated in a saying of the first of the prophets: "We Russians do not belong to this doomed world, and we can say so while yet paying due respect to all that is great in European achievements in art, science and history" (vid., p. 69). The first part might have been said by any Bolshevik and, perhaps by now—and we hope so—the second part too; but the point is, it expresses the mind of all these three for whom the Orthodox Church and its culture was the very heart of Russia. No wonder then that

they are proclaimed as prophets with a message for the new world in the processes of birth ! Dr. Zernov has indeed placed us in his debt in giving us these studies at this time ; they have indeed a realistic value.

Khomiakov is the least known of the three to English readers and in some ways the most important, since he may be claimed as the Father of the new school of Orthodox Theology. We are told (in the useful bibliography at the end of the book) that very little of his work has been translated into English (e.g., his correspondence with W. Palmer in Vol. I of Birkbeck's *Russia and the English Church*, London, 1895), but that his theological articles are available in French ; so the author's summary of his teaching is very valuable indeed, especially as he does not hesitate to admit Khomiakov's bias against Rome.

There is no need to say anything special on the sketch on Dostoevsky. There is already very much in English ; nearly all his own works and many books on him to which this sketch is a welcome addition. But with the case of Soloviev it is different. Dr. Zernov's sketch is the only attempt, in English, on the part of an Orthodox to consider in some detail and sympathetically, Vladimir Soloviev's attitude to Rome, and it is done very well. Yet we feel the few pages dealing with Soloviev's communion at the hands of the Catholic priest of the Byzantine rite, Father Nicholas Tolstoy, in 1896, and his subsequent receiving the last sacraments from the Orthodox priest, Father Beliaev, is not an adequate explanation. Soloviev held very strongly (and with some other Catholics) that the Church of Russia had never been excommunicated by Rome. This fact, we think, has not been given sufficient consideration. Yet Dr. Zernov's general treatment of his subject, including that on Soloviev's Sophiology, is excellent.

In the last chapter, "The future of Christian civilisation," Dr. Zernov attempts not only to see the fulfilment of these Russian prophets in the present generation of Russians but the relation of the present Russian Church to the future of Christianity.

DOM BEDE WINSLOW.

People, Church and State in Modern Russia. By P. B. Anderson. (S.C.M. Press). Pp. 160. 6s.

Here is yet another book on the same subject, viz., religion and the State in Russia, and from a Christian point of view ;

but this time not by a Russian. Mr. Anderson, an experienced member of the Student Christian Movement and one who knows Russia and the Russians, and above all, the Orthodox Church well, is writing as a Westerner. And he has written us perhaps the most valuable book on the subject.

He views the whole question from our point of approach, but he knows the Russian and his history and tries to explain it all to us—and he does it very well. He also tries to see if there is a Christian basis for co-operation with the Russia of the U.S.S.R., and finally he gives a good index to his book.

We will now examine one or two of his most relevant remarks.

The author, quoting N. Berdyaev, says that communist teaching and Christian teaching differ on two important points: the first is the teaching on God, and the second, the teaching on man. With God ruled out, as in Marxist doctrine, there can be no teaching of man as the child of God, either in his origin, his life on earth, or his final destiny; neither can the relations between men be considered basically to be those of brothers, sons of a common Father. This might be a summary of some paragraphs in Pius XI's encyclical on Atheistic Communism. The Patriarch (then Metropolitan) Sergius in his declaration issued on 10th June, 1927, said: "We cannot be silent about the contradiction which exists between us Orthodox and communist Bolsheviks who govern our Union. They set as their purpose struggle with God and His power in the hearts of the people. We on our part see the whole sense and whole aim of our existence in confession of faith in God and strengthening of the faith in the hearts of the people. They recognize only the materialistic interpretation of history, and we believe in the providence of God." Yet in spite of all this he believes that the Orthodox Christian "sacredly observing his faith and living according to its precepts" should act as the salt of the earth, for he says: "In any case since not only Communists but people of religious faith are citizens of the Union, in the leading ranks of these citizens must be found every Orthodox Christian, especially as the vast majority of the population is Orthodox." This declaration was issued after the Government had authorized the registration of the administration of the Patriarchal Church in the person of the Metropolitan Sergius on 31st May, 1927 (vid., pp. 74-76). The Metropolitan, who was well versed in all that Marxism meant, had been working for years for this

recognition. He believed that the freedom "for the conduct of religious worship" later expressed in the Constitution of 1936 (Article 124) was *sufficient* (not of course ideal) freedom for the life of the Orthodox Church. Mr. Anderson gives a very good explanation why, by the allowing of the public celebration of the Holy Liturgy, the forbidding of religious teaching and propaganda did not affect the Orthodox so much as it did other Christian bodies (pp. 15-19). As a contrast, it might be remembered here how, in the Elizabethan persecution in England, it was unlawful to say or assist at Mass.

Mr. Anderson deals with his subject very completely and not blinking facts, yet with a great belief in the power of the Spirit and the importance of sympathy with the people of the U.S.S.R. The headings of some of his chapters are significant: "the legal position of Religion," "the people and their Church," "Marxism and Religion," "adaptation of the Church to Soviet conditions." The whole book is most worth while reading and pondering, perhaps with Pius XI's encyclical (referred to above) beside you! The author's treatment of his subject, in general, shows such a real understanding that the failure to inform himself on the Union with Rome in Western Russia (p. 27) is more than a pity.

B.W.

The Orthodox Church in Poland. Edited by The Polish Research Centre. (32, Chesham Place, London S.W.1. 1s.).

This brochure consists of two parts: the first deals with the history of Christianity in Poland and south-west Russia down to 1800, the second with Orthodoxy in Poland in modern times, especially since 1921. This second part is the more interesting and useful; but the whole suffers from a certain "untidiness" and lack of clarity, confusing the reader who has not some antecedent knowledge of the subject. It is, of course, an *ex parte* statement, whose effort nevertheless to be fair and objective is not uniformly successful. On this head the chief sufferer is, as might be expected, the Moscow patriarchate.

Anybody who wants to get some idea of the complicated difficulties in eastern Poland should include this booklet in his reading.

D.A.

Prayer Book for Greek Catholic Rusins in America. Compiled by Father Julius Grigassy, D.D. (Braddock, Pa.)

Rusins are the people also known as Ruthenians or Podcarpathian Ukrainians, and they are Catholics of the Slav-Byzantine rite; there are over 300,000 of them in U.S.A., and a considerable number in Canada. This prayer-book for their use is in English, with the corresponding Church Slavonic throughout on the opposite page, but in roman characters.

It contains a large number of prayers for various occasions and objects, most of them of oriental origin, and a selection of liturgical hymns; excerpts from the Eucharistic Liturgy and other offices; and, in an appendix, the way of the cross (practically as in the West, but longer), the rosary (slightly, and rather well, expanded from its Western form), and a few "popular" hymns (including "Silent night, holy night," which is a lamentable favourite among American Catholics).

The strictly liturgical portions are very "bitty": e.g., Vetchernya is reduced to three pages, and the epiklesis (together with other inaudible prayers) is omitted entirely from the Liturgy. On the other hand, a very long moleben and supplication in honour of the Sacred Heart are given at length, as is the even longer paraklis in honour of the Mother of God. A form of "Prayers during Low Mass" is the most regrettable thing in the book—even the Trisagion, the Kherubikon and the Lord's Prayer are paraphrased and expanded.

When the history of the Rusins and their conditions in America are taken into consideration, the degree of unnecessary "messing about" with their worship, as illustrated by this prayer-book, might be worse. What is, however, very depressing, is the low standard of English in which it is written: those stilted set phrases, archaic and romance words, and forced emotionalisms that disfigure so many Western prayer-books. And it is not too easy to recognize, e.g., St. Ambrose of Milan disguised as "St. Ambrosius, the Bishop of Mediolanes." The pictures unhappily are to match: most of them apparently printers' stock blocks "for religious jobs." This book shows the need for cultural work among the clergy (to start with) in North America.

D.A.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- S.P.C.K. : *The Church and the Papacy*. T. G. Jalland.
Handbook to the Christian Liturgy. James Norman.
- Cobbett Publishing Company : *Churches in the U.S.S.R.* S. Evans.
- Collets' Holdings Ltd. : *Orthodox Church and the Great Patriotic War* (in Russian).
- Hutchinson and Company : *The Face of Russia*. G. Loukomski.
- Faber and Faber : *The Form of the Church*. A. G. Herbert.
The Divine Realm. E. Lampert.
- Dacre Press : *National Churches and the Church Universal (E.C.Q. reprint)*. F. Dvornik.

